As SALT Drags On, P. 2; New Light on The Peace Dividend, P. 3

Prize Item For A Boomerang Collection

Those who resort to the rule of force have no place on a college campus.

—From Nixon's letter to University Presidents and Trustees.

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly

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Too Late to Confuse Nixon With Lincoln

The report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest falls into two parts, of unequal quality. The main part of the report is first-rate. The first two chapters on the students provide the best analysis we have yet read. Chapter 3 painfully exposes the stepchild status of black colleges. Chapter 5 is a thoughtful guide to the problems facing the police. Unfortunately few will read the report itself and newspapers have done little more than cover the prefatory remarks and recommendations. These are of a lower order, and read like one of those sermons against sin in which the preacher is careful not to get too specific about sinners.

As Irrefutable As Decalogue

The Recommendations are as irrefutable as Decalogue—"the right to dissent is not the right to resort to violence." Every admonition to one side is balanced off with an admonition to the other—"Equally, to respond to peaceful protest with repression and brutal tactics is dangerously unwise." One sentence says that a nation which "has lost the allegiance of a part of its youth is a nation that has lost part of its future." The next adds, with equal truth, that a nation "whose young have become intolerant of diversity . . . has no generation worthy or capable of assuming leadership . . ." These irreproachable propositions cancel each other out. One suspects that a majority of the Commission was intimidated by the attacks the Administration has been making upon it, and tried hard to make its recommendations non-controversial. Perhaps this explains why its findings about the Kent and Jackson State killings were separated from the main report, and are not yet available as this is written. *There* more than truisms will be required.

The Commission pleads for reconciliation, but reconciliation in human quarrels depends on the willingness of leadership to risk telling its own constituency unpleasant truths and thus clear the way for necessary reforms. That is very different from pandering to the prejudices of one's own side. For those who have some weight with the students, it calls for debunking some of the half-baked inflammatory nonsense which passes for lofty ideology in their ranks. For a Republican like Scranton, the chairman of the Commission, it means saying out loud what needs to be said about this Republican Administration. It is too late to say, as the Commission does, that "only the President can offer the compassionate reconciling moral leadership that can bring the country together again." It is clear after almost two years of Nixon and Agnew that this Administration has been a major factor in tearing the country apart. Four days before the Kent State massacre, Nixon was calling the campus radicals "bums." Two weeks after hard-hats beat up peace demonstrators in New York last May, Nixon gave the prowar mobsters his blessing at a White House reception. There is no sign whatsoever of "compassionate reconciling moral leadership" from the White House. Its "Southern Strategy," especially its effort to put racists like Haynsworth and Carswell on the high court, fuels black resentment while it seeks to gain votes among older whites by exploiting hatred of the young. The only hope of better leadership from the White House in the two remaining years of Nixon is to have some Republicans say this loud and clear. This is where Scranton failed.

Generalities are not enough. Generalities are provocations when the record of those uttering them deprives these utterances of credibility. The day the Commission gave out its report, the White House trotted out Moynihan and Finch to rebut it even before the press had time to read it. They claimed that Nixon on March 22, 1969, had already said what the Commission did in its recommendations. "Student unrest does not exist in a vacuum but reflects a deep and growing social unrest . . . Self-righteous indignation by society will solve none of them. We must resolve the internal contradictions of our communities." That sounds like the Scranton Commission, but it was Nixon talking a year and a half earlier. All this means to revolting blacks and students is that the establishment cannot be trusted even when it says the right things. The record creates nausea, not confidence.

In all charity, it is clear that Nixon is hopelessly "square." He has no rapport with this generation. And while he is not the Red-baiter he was 20 years ago, he slips back into old

(Continued on Page Four)

Nasser's Achievements and Example

For more than 2,000 years, from Alexander to the Turks, foreigners ruled Egypt. Nasser freed his country from foreign rule, nationalized the Suez Canal, and began to free its hard-working peasants from millennial exploitation. The Aswan Dam will be his monument. It could also have been a monument of American rather than Soviet aid but for the imperial arrogance of John Foster Dulles. Nasser risked much for peace in accepting the Rogers plan, as Israeli leaders now admit. There are Israelis who believe a similar turn toward peace was possible in 1955 when Moshe Sharrett had opened friendly channels to Nasser. It is tragic that Nasser died before U.S. diplomacy could explore his UN Ambassador's suggestion on Face The Nation Sept. 20 that Egypt might pull back its missiles from the Canal Zone if guaranteed against an Israeli attack. Nasser's death makes one regret more than ever that narrow minds blocked his invitation to Nahum Goldmann, president of the World Jewish Congress, for a talk in Cairo. That, too, was a lost opportunity.

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New Billion Dollar Rathole Opening Up As New Sonars Threaten to Make Polaris Vulnerable

Arms Race Costs Rise and Dangers Multiply As SALT Talks Drag On

When the 17-nation UN Disarmament Committee convened in Geneva in 1962, to work on Soviet and American proposals for (believe it or not!) "complete and general disarmament", world arms expenditures had reached $120 billion a year. Last year, after 7 years of palaver, arms spending had risen by two-thirds, to $200 billion. No wonder that 1970, which opens the Decade of Disarmament proclaimed by the UN, is marked by a decline of interest in arms talks, even cynicism. The figures and the observations are from the joint appeal made at the UN by the six living Nobel peace laureates. They repeated the all too familiar apocalyptic warnings, and pleaded for a mutual moratorium on MIRVs and ABMs. The Secretary General in his annual report warned that conventional weapons, too, are becoming more deadly. He noted sadly that the military budgets of the developing countries were rising at a faster rate than those of the world as a whole. Like McNamara (see box below) U Thant concluded that the nations "cannot move away from the abyss of self-destruction" and fulfill the "urgent social tasks" unless they put an early end to the malignancy of the arms race. There is no sign that anyone is really listening.

Destabilizing The Deterrent

New dangers turn up in the final reports emanating from the latest Pugwash meeting. This brought together 100 scientists from 35 countries, including the Soviet Union, at Lake Geneva, Wis. The reports also summarized the findings of 26 exports on arms technology—including several from the Soviet Union—at a pre-Pugwash meeting at Racine in June. The most alarming news: Just as land-based missiles are being made obsolete by increasing accuracy and MIRV, after so many billions were spent upon them, now it looks as if in the next decade new sonars may deprive the nuclear submarine of its invulnerability. This would destabilize the deterrence and escalate the research for countermeasures and new weapons.

To allay concern about this new threat, the Pugwash meeting proposed "An agreement to prohibit deployment of large active sonar systems." It added, somewhat cryptically (perhaps because classified information is involved), "there would be no problems in verifying compliance with such an agreement." It suggested this be considered in the SALT talks. At the same time it warned "the fact that the SALT negotiations have been in prospect for three years and in progress for almost one" has diminished other arms control efforts and speeded up new weapons programs as each side seeks a stronger bargaining position. The ABM and the MIRV are examples. Already limits on the latter "would now be much more difficult than one year ago."

The final Pugwash report sees the danger of a new bomber race as land-based missiles grow more vulnerable. It fears that with missiles growing more accurate there will be pressure for the use of nuclear weapons in less than all-out war on the ground that these could be used with "surgical" accuracy against purely military targets. The Pugwash conferees called this another dangerous delusion. So-called "tactical" nuclear weapons are now powerful enough to destroy "the population, industry and fabric of society in many countries." The Pugwash meeting concluded that the whole theory of deterrence was defective, since nuclear war was more likely to be precipitated by accident, miscalculation or uncontrolled escalation than by a deliberate first strike. The grimmest note of all (by Dr. George Rathjens at the Racine meetings): that technology threatened soon to place the fate of the superpowers in the hands of radars, sensors, and computers. The only effects of these warnings seems to be a deeper public apathy.

The Arms Race and Campaign Coffers

Although federal law forbids corporations to donate money to presidential, vice presidential or congressional candidates, officials of 49 top defense, space and nuclear contractors in 1968 gave more than $1.2 million to political campaigns during that presidential election year. The gifts favored the Republicans nearly 6 to 1.

Seven officers and four directors of Litton Industries, Inc., for example, donated a total of $151,000 to Republican candidates. They gave nothing to the Democrats. The donations were legal because the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925 does not prohibit corporate executives from contributing to political campaigns as individuals.

—Wayne Kelley (Congressional Quarterly) in the Washington Post *Sept. 17 summarizing a study by the Citizens' Research Foundation, Princeton, N.J. Roy L. Ash, Litton president, is one of Nixon's closest advisers.*

McNamara's Passionate Appeal That We Spend Less on Arms, More on World Development

For the so-called security of an ever spiraling arms race, the world is spending $189 billion annually and the figure steadily goes up. Four years ago in a speech in Montreal, I tried to point out that more and more military hardware does not provide more and more security. Most of the nations of both the developed and the developing world are beyond that point of diminishing returns.

If that is true, it is tragic that the developed nations hesitate to maintain even the present $7 billion of public aid expenditure. That twenty times more should be spent on military power than on constructive progress appears to me to be the mark of an ultimate, and I sometimes fear, incurable folly. If there were only a 5% shift from arms to development we would be within sight of the Pearson target for official development assistance. And who among us, familiar with the methods and audits of arms planning, would not admit that such a margin could be provided from convertible waste alone?

There are really no material obstacles to a sane, manageable, and progressive response to the world's development needs. The obstacles lie in the minds of men. Too many millennia of tribal suspicion and hostility are still at work in our subconscious minds. But what human society can ultimately survive without a sense of community? Today we are in fact an inescapable community, united by the forces of communication and interdependence in our new technological order. We must apply at the world level that same moral responsibility, that same sharing of wealth, that same standard of justice and compassion, without which our own national societies would surely fall apart.

Thus the challenge of the scientific revolution is not a tremendous technological conundrum like putting a man on the moon. It is much more a straightforward moral obligation, like getting him out of a ghetto, out of a favella, out of illiteracy and hunger and despair. We can meet this challenge if we have the wisdom and moral energy to do so. But if we lack these qualities, then I fear, we lack the means of survival on this planet.

—Robert S. McNamara in Copenhagen Sept. 21 at the annual meeting of the World Bank he now heads. (Abr.).

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Why The Military Industrial Complex Must Long To Get Out of Vietnam

Two New Rifts In The Curtain Hiding The Fate of The Peace Dividend

One reason for keeping secret the cost of the Vietnam war in the last budget message was to prevent public debate over what was happening to the expected peace dividend. Two different figures have now slipped out on the reduction in Vietnam spending. At San Clemente on his return from Asia, Agnew (*Wash. Post* 9/1/70) said the cost of the war had fallen to $14 billion from its fiscal 1969 peak of $28 billion. Then in a talk to the National Security Industrial Association (one of the main transmission belts of the military-industrial complex) Pentagon Comptroller Moot said that by the end of this fiscal year next June 30, the cost of the war would be down to $11 billion (*Wash. Star* 9/24/70).

Little Drop In Pentagon Spending

So far there is little evidence of a comparable drop in total military spending. This means that rising military costs and wage increases are absorbing most of the peace dividends. Total "defense by function" figures for fiscal '70 ended last June 30 were about $80.2 billion, only a billion less than the peak war year of fiscal '69. Total military spending this fiscal year is supposed to be down $7 billion. This would mean that rising Pentagon costs in other areas had absorbed half the $14 billion "peace dividend" figure given by Agnew.

A new Gallup poll shows that in every section of the country except the South, a majority favor cutting Pentagon spending. Only 10% nationally (and 12% in the South) favor an increase; the rest are for holding the present line. In the Senate, Proxmire Sept. 24 called attention to the propaganda campaign the military is staging to prevent any further cuts in its budget "the only place where significant cuts can be made." If cuts must be made, the Pentagon prefers to cut manpower, foreign commitments and ammunition rather than weaponry procurement.

Pentagon planning, according to a DMS (Defense Marketing Service) memo turned up by National Action Research on the Military Industrial Complex (a Friends Service Committee project in Philadelphia) calls for a steady rise in the next three fiscal years. DMS billed this as "good news" for its armament making clientele. To maintain procurement and still meet this year's budget, the Army must be cut back three divisions (Moot revealed) and that means sharper cuts in Vietnam beyond the 284,000 goal Nixon has set in his troop withdrawal schedule for next May 1. The only hope of substantially increasing weaponry procurement and stepping up the race in arms technology is to get out of Vietnam as soon as possible. That is why the new Paris offer from the other side to accept elections and deal with the present government if Thieu, Ky and Khiem are removed may interest the Administration more than it lets on in public. This is one issue on which the military industrial complex is with the doves.

The Witch Hunt Starts Up Again

Un-American Activities in its new guise as the Internal Security Committee obtained its first contempt citation from the House Sept. 23. The witness—Arnold Johnson, National Legislative Director of the Communist Party. Committee Member Ashbrook described him to the House with annoyance as a man "who conveniently looks like anyone's grandfather." What could be more insidious? As a Communist, Johnson is the Committee's first and (it no doubt hopes) easiest target in its attack on the New Mobilization Committee to End The War In Vietnam. He refused to be sworn. His counsel, John Abt, argued that under its new enabling resolution the Committee had first to find that the organization under inquiry was trying to overthrow the government or inciting violence. Otherwise the Committee would have "a roving Commission" to investigate any organization, "precisely what the House intended to prevent when it revoked the mandate" of HUAC. Koch (D. N.Y.) the only member who dared speak up against the motion on the floor, said the effect was to "chill dissent" and deter anti-war activity. Ichord (D. Mo.) a veteran of HUAC, replied in classic witch hunt language, that "We can ill afford to refrain from taking any steps to deter subversive manipulation" because of "fear that some people might be dissuaded from exercising their rights of free association." The House with lopsided cowardice voted approval, 337 to 14. Thirteen uncowed Democrats joined Koch in voting "no"—Bingham, Farbstein, Rosenthal, Ryan and Scheuer of New York; Brown, Burton, Edwards, Rees and Roybal of California, Clay (Mo.), Conyers (Mich.), and Nix (Pa.).

A Maverick FCC Commissioner Replies To Agnew's Attack In Las Vegas On Rock Music

The Vice President has asked us to "Consider . . . the influence of the drug culture in the field of music . . . [I]n too many of the lyrics the message of the drug culture is purveyed." That's where he makes his mistake. No song writer I know of is urging as a utopia a society in which the junkie's life is a rational option. Listen to the music, "Your mind might think it's flying/On those little pills/But you ought to know it's dying/Because . . . Speed kills!" That's from "Amphetamine Annie." Here's Steppenwolf singing, "You know I've seen a lot of people walkin' around/ With tombstones in their eyes/But the pusher don't care/ If you live or if you die."

No. The real issue, Mr. Vice President, is whether you have done enough to alter the repressive, absurd and unjust forces in our society that drive people to drugs. These music people aren't really urging death through drugs; they are urging life through democracy. It's not just that corporate, governmental and other institutions have turned away from our original goals. They are encouraging the drug life. Senator Moss observed, "The drug culture finds its fullest flowering in . . . advertising which mounts the message that pills turn rain to sunshine, depression to euphoria." TV ran almost $20 million worth of ads for sleeping aids alone in 1969. The Vice President has asked each of us to "set an example." Is his own party prepared to refuse contributions from those interests that feed upon the artificially induced thirst for drugs, pep pills, tranquilizers, alcohol, cigarettes . . .?

This Administration repeats that it is not censoring. But when the V.P. starts criticizing TV, pretty soon the "analysis" of the President's speeches is watered down or disappears, and Nixon builds up a record of (free) prime time TV. The President shows up on a Bob Hope special; the VP opens the Skelton show. Now they're moving in on radio. FCC Chairman Burch says he's interested in "obscenity" in lyrics; the VP is concerned about mentioning drugs. You don't come right out and say, "Cut the controversial stuff, guys. We don't like people getting that social criticism set to music." But the radio station owners get the message.

—FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson in a panel discussion of Rock Music before the USIA Sept. 17 (abr.).

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Putting 1,000 FBI Men On Campus May End By Sparking More Trouble

(Continued from Page One)

grooves in a crisis. One week he sends college presidents a column on campus unrest by Sidney Hook. The next he sends them J. Edgar Hoover's recent open letter to college students. Nixon calls this "a cogent and enlightening analysis" of the techniques used by extremists "to trick college students." Otherwise, presumably, they'd all join the YAF. Nixon, Hoover, Hook—what a triad out of the old witch hunt! What strange defenders of academic freedom! Academic freedom *is* in danger. The pendulum has swung so far that some leftist students hoot it down as mindlessly—and often loutishly—as the hard hats. But it won't be saved by defenders as compromised as Nixon, Hoover and Hook. All three of them were in the forefront of the attack on freedom, academic and public, in the haunted forties and fifties. Hook, himself a victim as a Marxist in the 30s, helped provide philosophic rationalizations for the Red hunt in the 50s.

When Hoover Moves Left

Of course they're talking a different language now. In the 30s, J. Edgar Hoover had difficulty distinguishing New Dealers from Communists. In the 50s, he and Nixon were calling the period of Roosevelt and Truman "20 years of treason." Now the whole political spectrum has shifted so far left that even Hoover has been radicalized. He now talks like a liberal. "There's nothing wrong with student dissent," he said in the open letter, "or student demands for changes in society." His conversion is too recent. Nixon proposes to give Hoover 1,000 extra FBI men so he can extend his authority to the campuses. Insofar as black campuses are concerned, the friendly liaison between the FBI and racist Southern police forces is too long standing; Hoover's ugly attacks on Martin Luther King have not been forgotten. The blacks see him as an enemy. The FBI has an equally poor reputation among white students.

Last July the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* called attention to a curious passage in the last annual FBI report. In it Hoover disclosed that the FBI was keeping an eye on student support of candidates opposing Administration policy. The famous Midwest paper commented, "What bothers us as much as the fact that the FBI is monitoring legitimate political activity is the manner in which Mr. Hoover insinuates that student supporters of anti-Administration candidates are trouble-makers." It said the paragraph quoted was "sandwiched in between one giving statistics on arson" and one describing "violent attacks" on property. The FBI has always had trouble distinguishing between dissent and law-breaking. If Congress approves Nixon's proposal to put 1,000 FBI men on campus, the only people he will be "bringing together" are student moderates and student radicals.

As The Egyptians See It

Your ready-made answer in America to each new Soviet incursion seems simply to be, "Arm Israel. Maybe that will frighten the Russians away." But it doesn't, and it won't. When you Americans bomb Hanoi, there is an immediate outcry in the Western press. When the Israelis bomb Cairo with American planes, there is no outcry at all. Are the Arabs any less human than the North Vietnamese? Or is anti-Arab prejudice the only kind of racism still respectable for the liberals of the West?

—An unnamed Western Ambassador in Cairo, quoted by Edward Sheehan, N.Y. Times Magazine, *Sept. 20.*

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